1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

583 relative of the same clan, goes to the village of the girl, and the three are feasted with rice and jaggery. The husband puts five rupees into the pocket of the girl's mantle and then takes her home. There is no ceremony of any kind, not even the salutation such as was performed at the original ceremony.

584 If the youth does not wish to live with the girl when the time arrives, he may annul the marriage by giving one buffalo
686 as a fine (*kwadr*) to the girl's parents; but, on the other hand, the parents of the girl have to return as many buffaloes as he may have given as *pödri* at funeral ceremonies.

If the girl refuses to join her husband the fine is heavier, and at the present time usually amounts to five or ten buffaloes, the number being settled by a council according to the circumstances of the people. The girl's family must also return any buffaloes given as *pödri*. According to Harkness the fines were in his day much heavier; three buffaloes when the man annulled the marriage, and as many as fifty when this was done by the woman (see p. 538), and the Todas acknowledge that the fine for refusing to fulfil the marriage contract is now lighter than it used to be.

583 When a girl goes to join her husband she may be given clothing or ornaments by her parents or brothers, and their gifts are known as *adrparn* or dowry, but I could not learn that there were any definite regulations prescribing what should be given. It seemed also that occasionally buffaloes might be given as *adrparn*.

THE REGULATION OF MARRIAGE

582 The Todas have very definite restrictions on the freedom of
616 individuals to marry. One of the most important of these is
588 that which prevents intermarriage between the Tartharol and
591 the Teivaliol. These groups are endogamous divisions of the Toda people. Although a Teivali man is strictly prohibited from marrying a Tarthar woman, he may take a woman of this division to live with him at his village, the man being known as the *mokhthodvaiol* of the woman. This connexion, which will be more fully considered at

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the end of this chapter, may be regarded as a recognised form of marriage, but it differs from the orthodox form in that the children of the union belong to the division of the mother. They do not, however, belong to her clan, but to that of her legal husband. Similarly, the same kind of connexion may be formed between a Tarthar man and a Teivali woman, but in this case the woman is not allowed to live at the village of the *mokhthodvaiol*, who may either visit her occasionally or go to live at her village.

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It has already been mentioned that each of the two divisions of the Toda community is divided into a number of septs or clans, and these are definite exogamous groups. No man or woman may marry a member of his or her own clan, but must marry into another clan. This restriction applies even to the members of clans which are known to have separated from one another in recent times. Thus, among the Tartharol certain members of the Melgarsol separated from the main group, and their descendants have formed a separate group or groups known as the Kidmadol and Karshol (see p. 664), but although the separation took place many years ago there still remains a definite prohibition against a marriage of members of these clans with the Melgars people. The clans of Pedrkars and Kulhem among the Teivaliol are offshoots of the Kuudrol, but here the separation seems to have occurred so long ago that the common origin is not regarded as a bar to marriage.

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In the whole of the genealogical record given in the tables at the end of the volume there is not a single case in which marriage has occurred between two members of the same clan.

Among many races at or below the stage of culture of the Todas prohibition of marriage within the clan is usually accompanied by prohibition of sexual intercourse, and such intercourse is regarded as incest and often as the greatest of crimes. It is doubtful whether there is any such strict prohibition among the Todas. In the qualifying ceremony for the office of *palol* known as *tesherst*, it is ordained that the woman who takes part in the ceremony shall be one who has never had intercourse with one of her own clan, and I was told that it was far from easy to find such a woman. The

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even if the husband were dead or separated from his wife. If a Teivali man took a Tarthar widow as *sedvaitasmokh*, and a child were born, the child would belong to the Tartharol, and would be regarded as the son of the dead husband of the woman, and would belong to his clan. The child might live with the *mokhthodvaiol*, and be spoken of ordinarily as the child of this man, but yet for all social and legal purposes, the child would be a member of its mother's husband's clan. The dead husband is regarded as the father because it was he who last performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony. 588 837 851 616 595

There are two forms of the *mokhthoditi* union. In one the woman lives with the man just as if she were his real wife, almost the only difference being that any children would be legally the children of the legal husband of the woman or of some man of her division called upon to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony. In the other and more usual form the man visits the woman at the house of her husband.

Owing to the restriction on the visits of Teivali women to Tarthar villages, there is a difference in the nature of the *mokhthoditi* union in the two divisions. A Teivali *mokhthodvaiol* may take his wife to live with him at one of the Teivali villages, but in those cases in which Tarthar men live permanently with Teivali women, the *mokhthodvaiol* must live at the woman's village. There are two examples of this practice at the present time in which Tarthar men live altogether at Teivali villages. 588 837 616 628 591

When a man wishes to have a given woman as his *sedvaitasmokh* he goes to the husband or husbands of the woman and asks for his or their consent. As a sample of the kind of negotiations which ensue, I will give a definite instance. A Tarthar man wished to become *mokhthodvaiol* to the wife of two Teivali brothers. He went to them and asked for their consent, which they gave, but said they should like to have the agreement confirmed by a third party (*nedrvol*), and they settled on a *nedrvol* to whom all went. The *nedrvol* asked each if he consented to the arrangement, and it was decided that the Tarthar man should give a *putkuli* worth three rupees annually to the woman's husbands, and the former became *mokhthodvaiol* to the woman on that day.

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153 In my psychological tests it certainly seemed to me the general intelligence of the women was very much lower than that of the men. Some of the younger women were as acute and intelligent as the men, but the older women seemed to me hopelessly stupid. They did not try to give their minds to the tasks I set them with anything approaching the keenness and interest shown by the men, and again and again I failed to obtain results of any value in tests which men understood readily.

[155] It seems probable that the intelligence of the two sexes is not appreciably different in youth, but that the social life of the women does nothing to develop this intelligence and everything to force its exercise into the narrowest channels.

[182] It might, I think, be expected that polyandry would be associated with a subordinate position of woman, and there can be no doubt that the Todas show the association of the two conditions.

618 764 When a woman marries she becomes of the same clan as her husband, and this is a matter of some importance in connexion with religious and social ceremonial. Thus, in the funeral ceremonies of a woman, the choice of appropriate day and place, of the people who are to take part in the funeral rites and other features of the ceremonial are determined, not by the clan of the woman's father, but by that of her husband, and this even when the marriage itself forms part of the funeral ceremonies.

[591] 618 766 While I was on the hills, the widow, Kiuneimi (3), who had been living with her father at Nòdrs, died. Her husbands had belonged to Kanòdrs, and as a member of this clan she should have been taken to its burning-ground. This was, however, so far from Nòdrs that it was decided not to go there, but to hold the funeral ceremonies near the place where she had died. The proper funeral place for Nòdrs women could not, however, be used, for she belonged to another clan, and the body was therefore taken to a village which was not a true funeral place, and so no laws were infringed.

The funeral of Sinerani (p. 391) is an excellent example which shows how all the details of a funeral ceremony are

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sacred rivers in general, nor climb holy hillocks upon which gods are supposed to live. They are not entitled to practise sorcery (I never came across a case of them doing so), to eat parts of the sacrificed calf of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 274), to approach the spot where buffaloes are killed at funerals (for fear that they should see the bell of the temple upon which they are not allowed to set eyes), to attend the ceremony of offering a buffalo calf to a *ti-mad* called *irnörtit* (op. cit. p. 293); Teivilkh women are, besides, not permitted ever to visit the *mads* of the Tardharsh division.

The inferior status of women is further emphasized by sexual privileges connected with the office of the Teivilkh priests. Thus, the *tarvalikartmokh* has unrestricted access whenever he wishes to all women of the *mad* at which he is serving, even though these may be Tardharsh, that is, whom, normally, as members of the lower moiety, he may not approach. The *kurpalikartmokh* can sleep with the Tardharsh women of his choice, but only on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. The *wursol* may do the same on Sundays and Wednesdays only, and may not have any relations during the time that he is priest with any Teivilkh women, not even his wife if he is married. The *palol* of the *ti* may cohabit with the Tardharsh woman that he wants (from any *mad*) outside the precincts of the *ti-mad*, but within the sanctified territory, that is, in practice, in the *sholas* only (Rivers denies this, but I have confirmed it in *The Todas, Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. River's Book, Observed in the Field*, see Bibliography).

Todas prefer men to women to such a degree that female infanticide was, and is still to some extent, practised in the tribe, something to which we shall have occasion to revert further on. Toda society is a patriarchal one, in which the men are dominant and in which they treat their women, as most polyandrous people do, as their property. This belies the deceptive appearance of freedom which the females give on first acquaintance, an appearance which one very soon learns to appreciate at its true value when one gets to know the tribe better.

After adult marriage the bride always takes up her residence with her husband or husbands as the case may be, no known case of uxorilocal dwelling having ever taken place. She becomes a member of his or their *modol*, giving the latter a territorial appearance. At the same time she ceases to belong to her maiden one, but continues nevertheless to be part of her own *polkhliol*. Inheritance is always exclusively through the male line, the father's or fathers' brothers, the next of kin

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of what he calls "group marriage" tending more and more to look upon one of the women as his own (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 519).

From what has been stated above, it will be clear that, because of many rules and regulations about whom one may marry and whom one may not, Todas, apart from child-marriage, find it difficult, when adult, to get themselves a wife. The number of women is very limited, and many of them are ineligible because of social barriers, so that not a few men would remain single were it not for the time-honoured custom of *terershti*, or that of the transfer of wives. Rivers describes the latter as a sort of peaceful pact which is negotiated at a meeting between the husband or husbands of a woman and a man or a group of men who wish to take her to wife, compensation (*ter*) to be paid to the losing party in buffaloes being decided first, (*terershti*, "compensation he decides", see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 523).

But when I was in the Nilgiris, transference of wives never took place except forcibly, and it was up to the *noim*, after the abduction had taken place, to fix the amount of animals that should be paid to the aggrieved party in compensation. Nowadays, no longer content with taking the case to the *noim*, some Todas are appealing direct to the Government for help, requesting even that the latter intervene actively to put an end to a custom which, with time, and no doubt because of outside influence, is becoming increasingly distasteful to them. So long, however, as there exists so great a disproportion between the numbers of men to women, and tribal regulations concerning moiety endogamy and clan exogamy are so strictly observed, there seems to be no other solution for the men to the dearth of wives than continually to be taking them from one another, while paying due compensation, so that all of them have at least a time during which they are married.

Some Toda women whom I have met have been wives to no less than seven men or groups of men, remaining with these for a year or so before being carried off again by another or others. Among them have been those who have taken pride in recounting how many buffaloes were paid in compensation for them, as in the eyes of the men their prestige seems to be in direct proportion to the importance of the figure. Women carried off leave their children if the latter are big enough, but take them with them to their new home if they are small. When they grow up, they will return to the clan of their official father.

Of course, what makes it easier for Toda men to accept polyandry and the stealing of each other's wives, is that fatherhood of the off-